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ON NEW PAPYRUS-FRAGMENTS FROM THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM AT OXFORD.

BY REV. JOHN P. MAHAFFY, D.D.

(PLATES XV. AND XVI.)

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VI.

ON NEW PAPYRUS-FRAGMENTS FROM THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM AT OXFORD. By REV. JOHN P. MAHAFFY, D.D.

(Plates XV. and XVI.)

[Read December 13, 1897.]

The documents deciphered, transliterated, and explained in the following Paper come from the pectoral piece of a mummy case, made of layers of papyrus, which was entrusted to me for examination by Mr. Arthur Evans, Director of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. This piece had been observed by me long since as being another specimen of those coffins which have yielded us so much treasure in recent years, owing to the employment of layers of waste papers instead of wooden boards. In a very small proportion of cases we have found literary fragments put to this ignoble use; the present papers were not of that supreme interest, but are, like most of the Petrie papyri, business documents. Nevertheless, they are not without very great importance and interest.

In the first place, a glance at the papers which I was able to clean and arrange showed the great age of the writing—not later than the middle of the 3rd century B.C. This would have been an unique and astonishing fact a few years ago; now we are provided with so many dated documents of that remote epoch, that the present papers look to us like the writing of old friends.

In the next place, it happens by a lucky chance that the drafts of letters written on the *verso* of the sheets contain two which explain perfectly the subject of the account contained on the *recto*. I also found that the two large pieces which were laid one over the other, and formed the main substance of the pectoral ornament, were cut from successive pieces of the same roll, so that they fit together. All these

gifts of good fortune are somewhat counterbalanced by the battered condition of many spots in the texts, and by the fact that smaller pieces, fitted over and with them, are so defaced and blurred as to be quite worthless. I now proceed to give a transcript of the text.

Plate XV., Column A (*recto*). (1)

αρακωι Ṇ ερεβινθ[ωι .
φακωι ϛ̣
καταλειπονται ΥΖλ́β́
ην δει κατασπαρηναι κνηκωι

Αθηνας κωμης δια Πετοβα̣σ̣τιος
Ϫ ΨΙΖ∠δ́ιϛ́λβ́
αφ ων απολειπουσιν προς την πυρο
φορον ΥΖ∠δ́ιϛ́λβ́ κνηκου (sic) Τ
οροβωι Ι αρακωι ρ / ΩΙΖ∠δ́ιϛ́λβ́
ανταναιρουμενων δε ωι πλειω
κατεσπαρκεν κριθηι [ρ]
καταλειπονται ΨΙΖ∠δ́ιϛ́λβ́
αφ ων δει κατασπαρηναι
κνηκωι Τ οροβωι Ρ
πυρωι [ΤΙΖ∠δ́ιϛ́λβ́]

*Plate XV., Column B (*recto*).* (2)

· προς την π[. . .] ια
δ ? οροβου [
. . κριθηι ος [
ανταναιρουμ[εν ω]ν δε ωι π[λειω κατεσ
20 παρκεν αρακ[ωι ΡΕ
καταλειποντ[αι]
ων]δει κατασπαρηναι .
· νοι ηκαμν[

Ευημεριας δια [Αρ]μαιος ΩΠΒ
25 αφ ων δει [κατασπα . . . . . ? . . . ΨΙΗ
κνηκωι . . . λινωι [
οροβωι [ ] / ΤΙΕ
αφ ων ανταναιρου μεν]ων ωι π[λειω
κατεσπαρκεν . ηι Ι . . . . . (ηναι ?)
30 αρ[ακου ?] |
καταλειπονται ω]ΠΒ

* The right side of the column has been misplaced one line lower than the left in the Autotype.

Plate XV., Column C (*recto*). (3)

Φιλα]γριδος δια ι . . . . ιος ρqδ<

πρ]ος την πυροφορον ΡΝϹ μηκωνι Μ

λι]νωι Η κνηκωι ΡΚ οροβωι Λ / ΤΝΔ

ανταναιρουμενων δε ωι πλειω κατε

σπ]αρκεν των καθολου μη δι[αγεγρ]αμμενων

] . ου Ρ αρακου Ν ολυρας Ι / ΡΞ

καταλειπονται ρqΔ

αφ ων] δει κατασπαρηναι μηκωνι Μ

ορο]βωι Λ λινωι Η κνηκωι ΡΙΣ / ρqΔ

[*The rest blank.*]

PLATE XVI., COLUMN A (*verso*). (4)

]ηνι
]θηρευταις
]μη καθυστε
ρον το]υς ανθρωπους
5] ρε γαρ ειν

smaller hand

ευη]μεριαν δισυνεγγυησα
]ν και Ευβιον και περι . .
]ελειαν αγαγειν

blank

]ειν εις αρσινοην
10]ουσης γης ανειλη
]μωι τον δε τε
]ιν η τι καλως ηι
]σιναι του δωρωτης Αρ[σινοιτου δωρω της (Wilcken).
] . ην ση θ

15]εν με Ποσειδωνιος
]και λευκομετωπων
] . ευσιν οτι μνη

PLATE XVI., COLUMN B (*verso*). (5)

1) ιγ

Νουμηνιωι καλως ⌒ παραγ[ενομενος
οπως αν εκτινασσης τον εν[. . . . .] . . . . .
μετα δε ταυτα εκτιναξεις τον εν Φιλαγριδι
μη ουν αλλως ποιησης ? υπομενω γαρ σε ωστε ?
εναρξασθαι σε

2) Κονουφει καλως ποιησεις γρ τοις παρα σου αποδου
ναι ημιν το σιταριον ο προσοφειλεις ει δε τισι
χαλκον προσοφειλομεν κομισαι ηδη μη ουν
αλλως ⌒

3) Δωριωνι απηγγειλεν μοι Πτολεμαιος του
Μηνοδωρου βουλεσθαι λαβειν σ^οι ? Δεινιαν τον
απεγευκαιρης
εκ Κερκεσουχων καλως ουν ⌒ αναβας εις Κροκο
διλων ⌒ και ιδων αυτον παραλαβε δε και
Πολεμωνα εις τ̣η̣ν̣ Λ μαλιστα μεν πειρα
θητι συνχωρησαι Ευβιωι τωι Σωσιβιου υιωι
αποδοσθαι

4) (- Δημοκρατει τας ρ̣β̣ τ̣ω̣ν̣ ϛ καλως ⌒ . . . . . -)
και παιηι ?
5) Αμωητι αναγνους τον λογον της κνηκοφορου
ευρηκα μηθεν μερος υμας εσπαρκ^εναι
ομνυω υμιν θεους παντας ει μη αμα τωι
λαβειν υμας την ει blank
γεγραμμενην υ[πο

PLATE XVI., COLUMN C (*verso*). (6)

6) Σφινει τα Αντιοχου προβατα τ[α] εν ερμ[
μη απελθωσιν ου δοντες μοι τασ[

---

7) αλλη τωι [αυ]τωι erasure προσπεπτωκ[ε μοι την διαγεγραμ
μενην γην εις κνηκον εν Αρσινοηι και ε[ν Ευημεριαι
45 και εν Φιλαγριδι κατεσπαρκεναι σι[τωι ? εδει
μεν ουν σε ει εφροντιζες σαυτου κ[αι του δεοντος ?
κ κατ ανδρ[α
πεπτησθαι κατα κωμην και προλαβ . . ? (erased)
ως αν λαβηις την ε[. . .] παραλαβων τους κ[
επισκεψαι κατ ανδρα οτε δ εγραφον σοι [οση ?
50 η οροβοφορος και κνηκοφορος και μηκωνοφορ[ος
φροντισον ουν προ του παραγενεσθαι εως τ[ης] κωμ[ης

---

8) Θεμμει απεσταλκα Φαιην ?
γεωμετρησοντα [την] κνηκοφορον
ιεαν
την περι Αρσινοη[ν] καν μη
55 εκπληρους ευρισκηι
τας ΥΧ συν[τε]ταχ[α
τωι μαχι[μωι]αγειν σε
εφ ημα[ς] . ς

---

9) Φαναυη[ ] Φιλαγριδος
60 κατεβαι[

The first Column A (*recto*) I translate thus :—

Column A (*recto*).

[sown] with *arakos* 50 [arouræ] with *erebinth* — with lentils, 6 ;

there remain $407\frac{1}{32}$ [arouræ]

which [land] should be sown with *knekos*

Athena's village . [account furnished] through Petobastis

arouræ $717\ \frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{16}\ \frac{1}{32}$

From which there are set aside for the wheat bearing

[land] $407\ \frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{16}\ \frac{1}{32}$ of *knekos* 300

For *orobos* 10 for *arakos* 100 Total $817\ \frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{16}\ \frac{1}{32}$ [$= \frac{27}{32}$, or approximately $\frac{9}{11}$]

But as they set off the excess amount which

[the komarch] has sown in barley, viz. 100 arouræ

There are left $717\ \frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{16}\ \frac{1}{32}$

of which there should be sown

in *knekos* 300 in *orobos* 100

in wheat [$317\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{16}\ \frac{1}{32}$]

Column B (*recto*) has been severed down the middle, and both the name of the first village on it and the amount of the crops are lost. Enough remains to show it was a perfectly similar account, with the same claim of a set-off owing to an excess sown the previous year.

We then come to the statement regarding the village of Euemeria, of which the total acreage was 882 arouræ. It was, therefore, a slightly larger place than *Athenas Kome.* Unfortunately the figures are mostly lost, or so faint that the reading is uncertain, except the total 315 in the fourth line.

Column C (*recto*) contains only one account, that of the village Philagris, and the details are well preserved, but not easy to explain. Apparently the komarch reports that he is only liable for 194 arouræ—the sign after the figure being certainly no fraction if we compare it with the symbols used all through the papyrus. But the whole acreage seems to have been 354 arouræ, which makes Philagris a much smaller village than the rest. The correct assessment of crops seems to be wheat, 156; poppy, 40; flax, 8; knekos, 120; orobos, 30; the sum is 354. But as they set off an excess sown (in the previous year?) of various crops amounting to 160 arouræ, there remain 194 arouræ, which are to be sown in the following proportions: poppy, 40; orobos, 30; flax, 8; knekos, 116. In l. 36 there is a difficulty. We should rather expect *των καθολου δι[αγεγρ]αμμενων* (without *μη*): or have I supplied the missing letters wrongly?

We now turn to the *verso*. This contains the ends of lines of a column; two tolerably complete columns; and lastly, a portion which is mostly blank, but has a few minute notes scrawled upon it, which seem of small importance, but which in any case I have not been able to decipher.

The purport of this *verso* side is quite plain. It consists of several draughts of short letters sent from some official to his subordinates. We may conjecture it to be the *οικονομος* of the district to whom the report on the *recto* had been furnished. Several of these refer to the subject of the *recto*—the report that sufficient knekos had not been sown, and the official means taken to enforce an observance of the Crown regulations by the peasantry, *e.g.* the 8th, addressed to Themmes, "I have despatched Phaies (the name is doubtful) to survey the knekos-bearing land about Arsinoe, and should he not (*κἂν* corrected to *καὶ ἐάν*) find the 500 arouræ fully sown, I have directed the policeman to arrest and bring you to this office." It is the report of this sort of *geometer* which we have on the *recto*; and we see from it that the State regulated, not only the oil, but many other crops throughout the country, thus securing an equable amount of produce for taxation, and probably a redressing of inequality in the case of a tempory failure of some part of the normal produce.

All this, in general, was well known enough, though we have not yet,

so far as I know, the detailed report of a geometer (land surveyor) like the present. But when we come to details, we stumble upon very remarkable points in the present fragments. The Revenue papyrus, and some of the Petrie papyri, have given us a large insight into the production of oil in Egypt, and the legislation by which it was kept a State-monopoly, after the manner that tobacco is treated by some modern States. In the Revenue papyrus the whole stress of the matter lies in the culture of sesamon and kiki (castor oil); and in the list of the amounts to be produced by each nome, there is no other taken into account.

In several other parts, however, of the document, among the inferior kinds of oil—colocynth, linseed—there is mention of the oil of knekos and its price in relation to the superior sorts.* This recognition, however, is so slight that we should certainly not have expected to find three or four villages together in which no sesamon or kiki whatever was grown. We can even infer that there was a disinclination on the part of the natives to sow this crop, and that the government found it necessary to insist upon more oil being grown. There is, moreover, another point of difficulty in the comparison with the Revenue papyrus. There is constant mention in the present Papers of a set-off by reason of an excess of sowing (in the previous season?). This setting-off is quite contrary to the policy of the Revenue papyrus, and is, indeed, expressly forbidden in the case of sesamon oil. The very word *ανταναιρεσθαι* never occurs either in that text or in the Petrie papyri, nor does the word *κνηκος* occur in the numerous papers about crops in the great variety of the latter.

These considerations make it doubtful to me whether we have not before us a state of things slightly anterior to that of the Revenue papyrus, and that the monopoly of sesamon and kiki was promoted by a great and new extension of the growing of these oils throughout the country. We are informed by botanists that knekos is a kind of thistle or artichoke which would not produce anything like the proportion of oil to its weight which is extracted from the other two plants. We know from Pliny that other plants also, *e.g.* radishes, were turned to this use by the Egyptians.

* Cf. col. 53 of the Revenue papyrus: knekos-oil was far inferior even to kiki, not to say sesamon oil.

Turning to points of expression: there is a curious formula of which the sense is clear: ανταναιρουμενων δε ωι πλειω κατεσπαρκεν. Setting-off by how much of excess he (the komarch) has sown. There seems no other rendering possible. This excess can only have occurred in the previous year.

Turning to details there is an ιγ (13) over the head of column B—probably the day of the month on which the following letters were written or copied. Then follows a note to Noumenios. You will do well to come to —— in order that you may thoroughly investigate (εκτινασσω, not known in this use, seems to correspond to the Latin *excutere*) the [oil-crop?] in our village? After that you will do the same in Philagris. Don't take any other course, for I am waiting for you to begin.

No. 2) only offers a difficulty regarding the name of the addressee. We have a second time ⌒ for ποιησεις, a symbol elsewhere reserved, and occurring even here, for πολις, and γρ as frequently for γραψας. σιταριον is of classical authority (Aristophanes) for a small quantity of corn.

No. 3) loses its interest because the reason of the visit to Crocodilopolis is not stated. In l. 29 the σοι is extremely doubtful, and the word superscribed over the next line has resisted my efforts. It may end in ως, and the ρ is uncertain. ευκαιρως, which is possible, would leave the previous letters impossible to explain, εις την λ seems to mean, 'against the 30th of the month,' on which some debt had to be paid.

No. 4) is the beginning of a letter which, owing to some fault of copying, or some other accident, the writer did not finish, and which he excludes from the list by brackets of this form ϵ.

No. 5) contains a note to two men stating that the writer has examined the report on the growing of knekos, and finds that both are complete defaulters. He proceeds to protest that he is not to blame, apparently because he had sent them due notice along with another letter. But more we cannot tell.

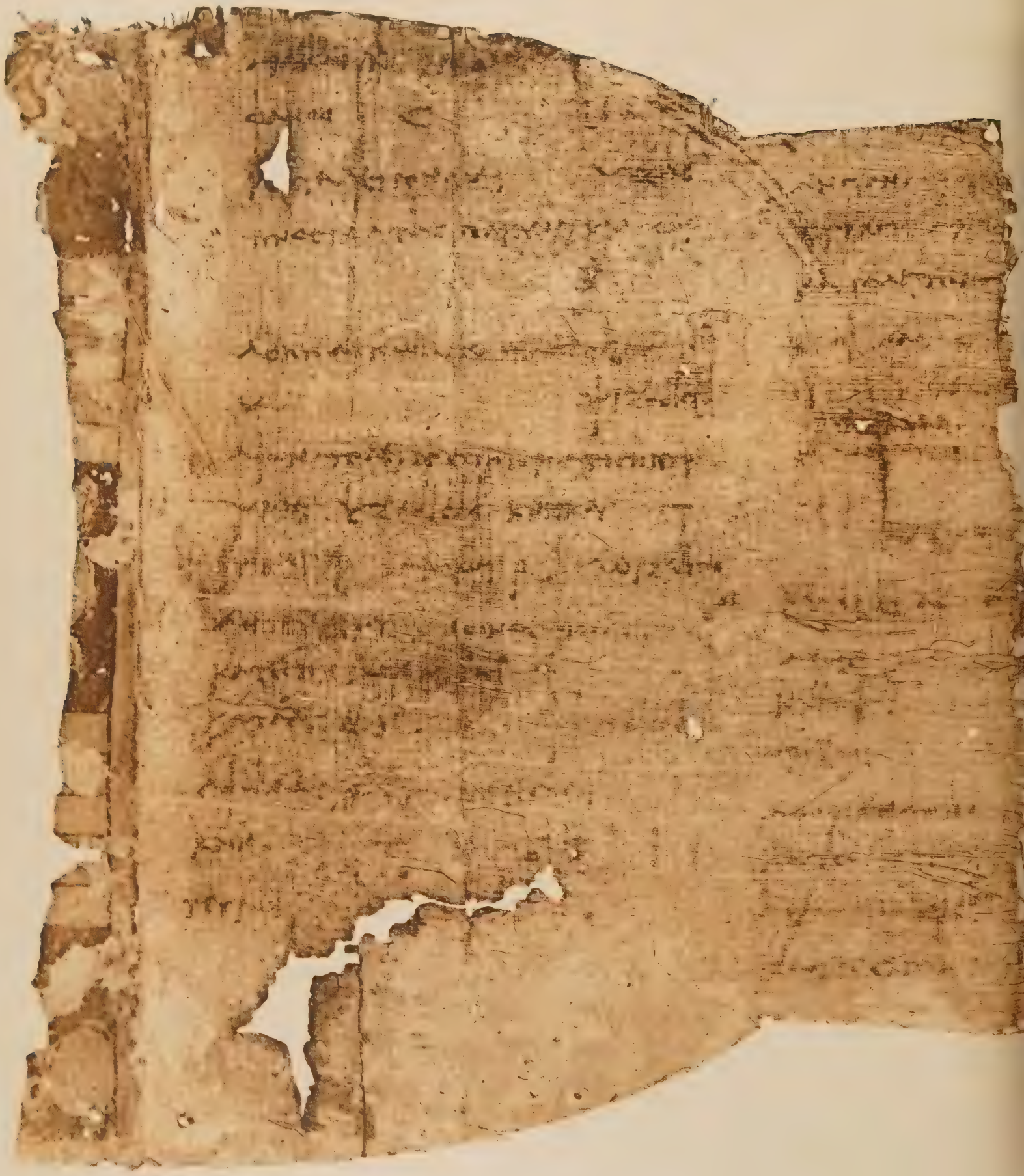
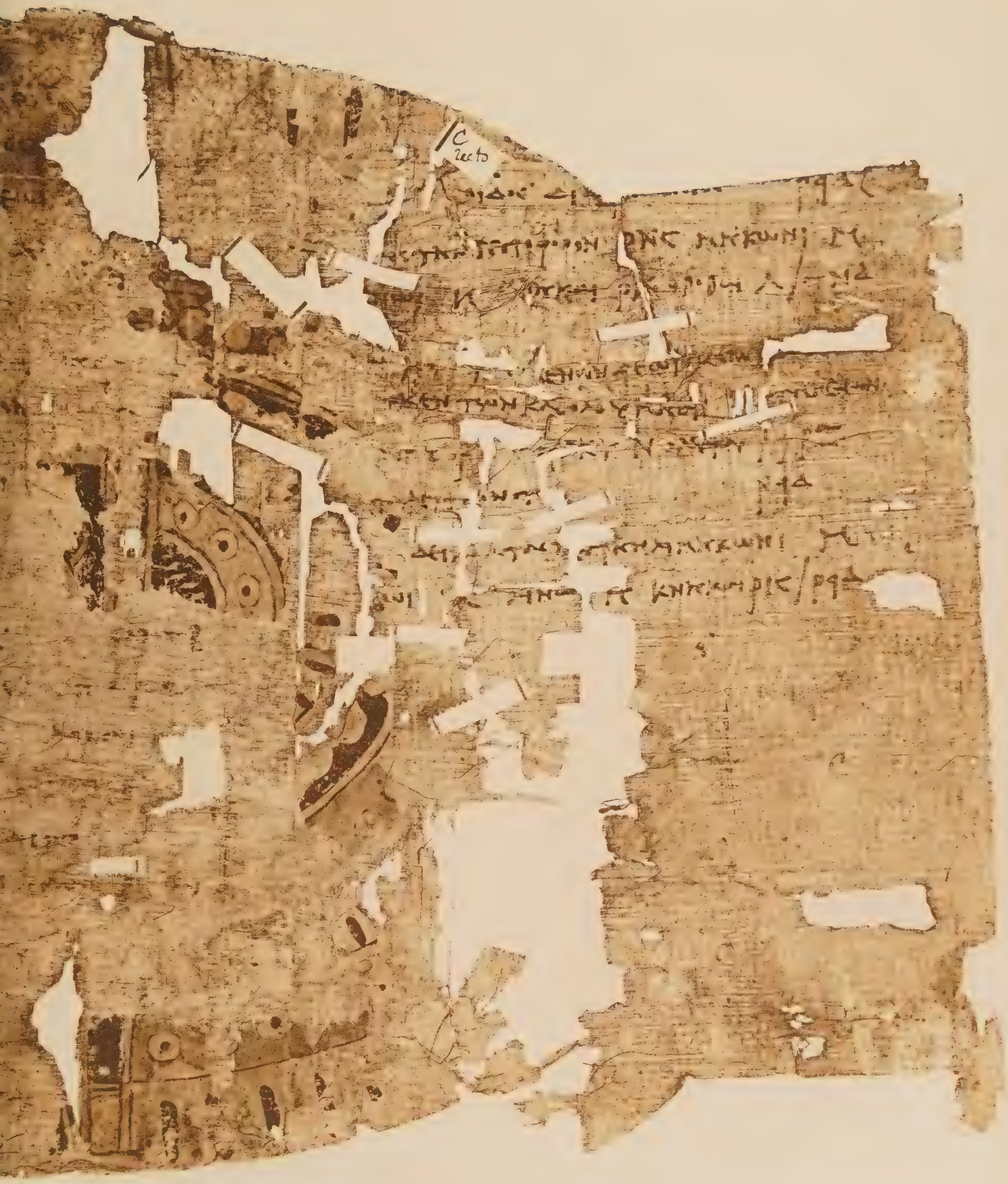
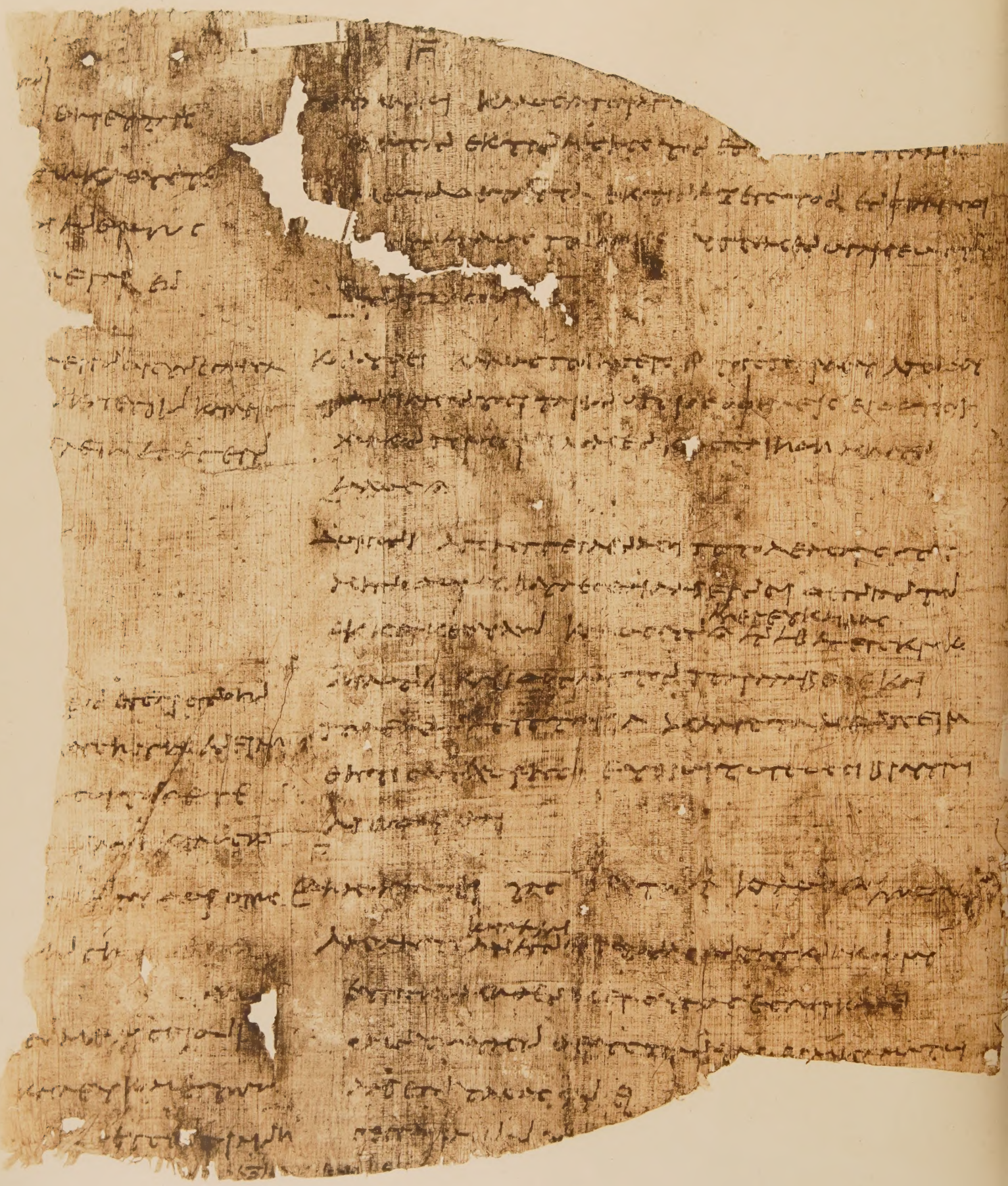
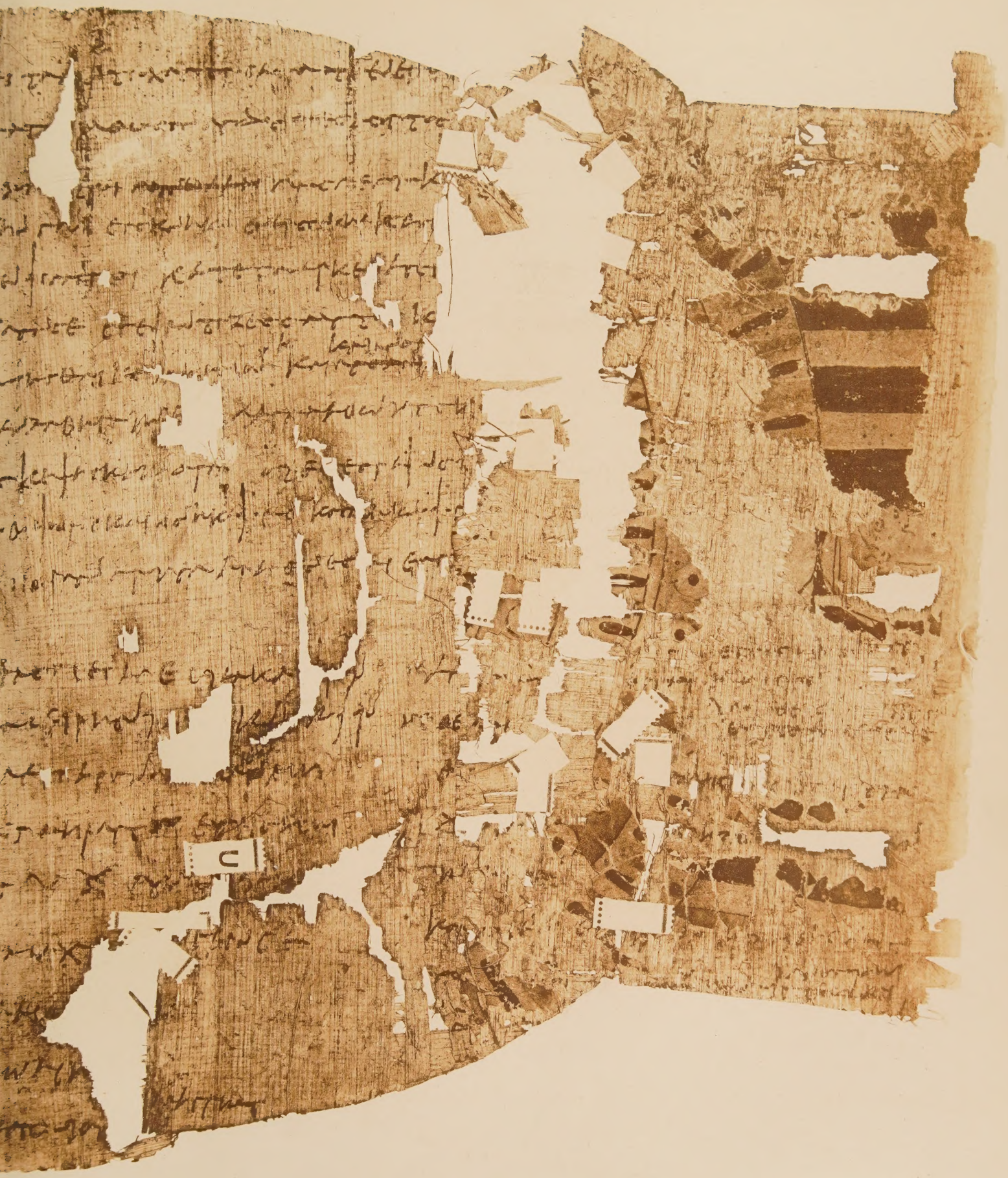
No. 6) contains a direction to hold some sheep which were in pawn (εγγυησει is Mr. Grenfell's suggestion) till some debt was discharged. But the letters of the important word are rather ερμ than εγγ, so that the name of a place may be the right solution.

No. 7) is very interesting, though badly preserved. "It has come to my ears that you have sown the land set apart in the register for κνηκος in Arsinoe, and in ——, and in Philagris, with [some other crop, probably σιτωι]. Now you ought, if you had a care for yourself and [your duty] to keep bustling through the village (a new, but not unclassical, use of πετομαι) and find out from each individual ——, after I wrote to you, how much of the land bore vetches, knekos, or poppies. Look to it before —— arrives at the village." It is doubtful whether there was a word between lines 51 and 52, or whether there is visible merely the end of a paragraph line.

No. 8) I have already translated.

No. 9) only gives us the name of Philagris again, as one of the villages with which this correspondence is concerned.

If my supplement in l. 57, (of No. 8) μαχι[μωι be correct (and I can hardly imagine any other, unless it be an unusual proper name with an article where we do not expect it), then we have another novelty in this papyrus which is of no small interest. In any Petrie papyrus of the same age we should find τωι φυλακιτηι (or αρχιφυλ) in this connexion. It is perfectly unheard of that such duties should be assigned to a μαχιμος, which is the technical word for a *native of the old warrior caste.* That the φυλακιται might be, and were sometimes, natives appears from the PP.* But that they should be of the old caste and called by this name seems to me very surprising.

Many of my readings in No. 7 are very uncertain. But I trust some learned reader may correct them, though the Autotype Plates are somewhat fainter, in many places, than the original (now in the Ashmolean Museum).

* II. 110, 24, Πασιτι φυλ. Αφροδιτης Βερενικης πολεως.